

The Symbolic Meaning of Sword and Palio in Late Medieval and Early Modern Ritual Entries: The Case of Seville

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Abstract: This article explores the symbolic meanings of sword and canopy as these two objects were deployed in ritual royal entries in late medieval and early modern Castile. After a brief exploration of the diverse meanings of these two symbols, their role in ritual entries, and the nature of these symbols in the ritual contexts in which they were deployed, I examine, in some comparative detail, the nature of royal entries into Seville from Ferdinand III's iconic proto-entry in 1248 and Alfonso XI's paradigmatic entry into the city on the Guadalquivir in 1327 to other royal and princely entries, concluding with Philip II's ritual royal entry in 1570. In reading and analyzing these entries, I seek to emphasize, beyond the brief mention of other symbolic elements, the unique role played by sword and baldachin (palio) in the ideological imaginary of the Castilian monarchy.

Key Words: sword, baldachin (palio), royal entries, princely entries, triumphal entries, Seville, symbols, rites, royal ideology, performance, ideological imaginary.

Resumen: Este artículo examina el significado simbólico de la espada y el palio y su uso en las entradas reales en la Castilla bajomedieval y en la época moderna. Después de una breve discusión de las diferentes formas en que estos símbolos fueron desplegados en la edad media en un contexto ritual, paso a intentar explicar, en forma comparativa, las entradas reales en Sevilla. Estas incluyen la proto-entrada icónica de Fernando III en 1248 y la paradigmática entrada real de Alfonso XI en 1327, así como otras entradas reales y triunfos, concluyendo con la entrada real de Felipe II en 1570. En estas páginas intento enfatizar, aparte de una mención breve de otros elementos simbólicos empleados en las entradas reales, el importante papel que la espada y el palio tuvieron en las formulaciones ideológicas y rituales de la monarquía castellana.

Palabras clave: espada, baldaquino (palio), entradas reales, entradas principescas, entradas triunfales, Sevilla, símbolos, ritos, ideología regia, protocolo, imaginario ideológico.

In the Oxford and Webster's English dictionaries, the word symbol is defined as something or a thing that stands, represents, or

recalls something else by reason of analogy, relationship, etc.¹ Although symbols and, above all, symbolic language are present in everyday life and speech, they acquire special meanings when deployed in ritual performances or actions. Ritual, as Victor Turner has defined it, is “a prescribed formal behavior for occasions not given over to technological routines”², and rituals, like symbols, also appear in a great variety of forms. If I have spend some time establishing the semantic field in which these terms appear, it is because I wish to emphasize the malleability of concepts such as symbols and rituals, particularly when applied to the articulation of power³. Moreover, these meanings and intents depend often on the context, temporal and geographical location. Though ritual performances share some common elements –all rituals must reiterate in some close fashion an earlier performance– not all rituals are alike. In many respects, some

¹ See the *Oxford English Dictionary* (on line). The full definition is: “Something that stands for, represents, or denotes something else (not by exact resemblance, but by vague suggestion, or by some accidental or conventional relation); *esp.* a material object representing or taken to represent something immaterial or abstract, as a being, idea, quality, or condition; a representative or typical figure, sign, or token...” Among some of the definitions given by the *Oxford English Dictionary*, the first one has a religious association. The *Merriam-Webster's Collegiate Dictionary*, 10th edition, Springfield, MA, Merriam-Webster Inc., 1999, has, among its diverse meanings of symbols, one that is fairly similar to the one cited above. The *Diccionario de la lengua española*, 20th ed., words as well: “Imagen, figura o divisa con que materialmente o de palabra se representa un concepto moral o intelectual, por alguna semejanza o correspondencia que el entendimiento percibe entre ese concepto y aquella imagen”.

² Victor TURNER, *The forest of symbols. Aspects of Ndembu Ritual*, Ithaca, NY, Cornell University Press, 1967, p. 19.

³ As much is obvious in the articles present in an important collection of scholarly contributions to the questions of relationship of symbols and ritual to political power. See Sean Wilentz, ed., *Rites of power. Symbolism, ritual & politics since the Middle Ages*, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985. For the theoretical context of that book and of the present discussion see Wilentz's introduction, pages 1-10 and Clifford Geertz's chapter “Center, Kings, and Charisma: Reflections on the symbolics of power”, pp. 13-38.

rituals depend on the precise repetition of specific words or symbolic gestures. Without them, the efficacy of such acts or rites either comes into question or are invalid. An example of this type of ritual or symbolic behavior is the sacrament of the mass and, specifically, transubstantiation. If the priest at the moment of the elevation of the Host fails to say the formulaic phrase: "this is the Body of Christ", the entire ritual would be voided. This is why in the Middle Ages in general (a period obsessed with ritual behavior and symbolic gestures), and in Castile specifically, such emphasis was placed on the ability to repeat certain formulas in the proper order and in the proper language. As much can be gathered from Pedro de Cuéllar's *catecismo*'s careful attention to what words were to be said and how they were to be pronounced –obviously by a clergy not too proficient in Latin– for the celebration of certain sacraments, among them, baptism⁴. In Castile, the elevation of a new king to the throne required a certain specific ritual and proclamation. Whether in the late Middle Ages or in the early modern period, the heir to the throne became king through the ritual cry of "Castilla la real for the Queen Isabella", as it happened in the late fifteenth century, or "Castilla la real for the King Philip IV," as it did in the seventeenth century⁵.

Other rituals, though with certain recognizable elements maintained over long periods of time, were quite malleable, and the symbols displayed in these performances quite fluid. Exact reiteration,

⁴ José Luis MARTÍN and Antonio LINAGE CONDE, *Religión y sociedad medieval. El catecismo de Pedro de Cuéllar (1325)*, Salamanca, Junta de Castilla y León, 1987. For a discussion of this text and the use of ritual formulas see Teofilo F. RUIZ, *Spain's Centuries of Crisis: 1300-1474*, Oxford, Blackwell Publishing, 2007, p. 185. There is a Spanish translation of this work, *Las crisis medievales (1300-1474)*, Barcelona, Crítica, 2008.

⁵ See Fernando del Pulgar's account, cited in my *Spain's Centuries of Crisis*, p. 198, and *Relaciones breves de actos públicos celebrados en Madrid de 1541 a 1650*, ed. José Simón DÍAZ, Madrid, Instituto de Estudios Madrileños, 1982, pp. 124-26. This is discussed in luxury of detail in my forthcoming book on festivals, *A King's Travels: Festivals, Spectacles, and Power in Late Medieval and Early Modern Spain*, that includes a long discussion on coronations in chapter 9.

such as that of the mass, was not required; changes and slight variations could occur. Royal and triumphal entries fall into this second category. Of course, all royal or princely entries called for a reception outside the walls of the city, an usually agreed distance that marked the liminal space between town and countryside. Nonetheless, in practice the distance varied from locality to locality, as did the nature of the receiving throng, the order of the welcoming procession, the route to be followed within the city, and other elements associated with the entry⁶.

1. Sword and palio

Here I would like to focus on two important symbols that were often deployed in ritual entries. Specifically, I would like to examine the symbolic valance of the royal sword—most often in this particular instance Ferdinand III's sword—and that of the palio or ceremonial canopy that was often (but not always) used for a king's (or queen's) first entry into a city. These actual physical objects functioned as important symbolic elements in the political imaginary, playing a signal role in the complex performance of Castile's and Spain's royal entries. Easily recognizable by the different audiences gazing upon a king's slow progress from outside the city to a sacred urban site (the cathedral), sword and palio articulated very specific messages about royal power in late medieval and early modern Spain. They also linked, as shall be seen, the ruler to historical and sacred traditions, placing them into a continuous stream of historical memory. In a sense, sword and palio served as peripatetic sites of memory, reinforcing the monarch's claims to authority⁷.

⁶ See my forthcoming book and my *Historia social de España, 1400-1600*, Barcelona, Crítica, 2002, chs. 5-6.

⁷ On the importance of sites of memory (*lieux de memoire*) see Pierre NORA, ed., multi volume collection, *Les Lieux de mémoire*, Paris, Gallimard, 1984-1992, and, specifically, Jacques LE GOFF's most impressive and paradigmatic article "Reims, ville du sacre," in *Les Lieux de mémoire*, vol. II, pp. 89-184. Republished in Jacques LE GOFF, *Héros du Moyen Âge, le saint et le roi*, Paris, Gallimard, 2004, pp. 987-1071.

2. Sword

By sword, I refer here, first and foremost, to the fabled sword of Ferdinand III (1217/1230-1252), king of Castile and Leon, though other swords were used as well. This was the sword with which he had allegedly conquered Seville in 1248 and laid on his funeral monument at Seville's cathedral. This sword, whether it was actually carried to crucial battles to garner its charismatic power or whether it was iconographically and symbolically invoked in triumphal monuments, played an important ritual role for the Castilian and Spanish monarchy in royal and triumphal entries into Seville and elsewhere. The sword, the royal sword of justice, would also be in abundant display in early modern entries, carried in front of the king by his major equerry. There is no need here to elaborate on the obvious symbolic associations of the sword with justice –the first and most important of all royal prerogatives– military prowess, and authority. The symbolic conflation of these overlapping meanings was not lost on city officials, local nobility, or the commons. The abundant literary representations of this symbol, above all in the early modern period, remind us forcefully that those who were commissioned to narrate these events understood quite clearly its important ideological place.

3. Palio, canopy, or baldachin.

The palio or richly woven cloth, usually of golden brocade or silk, that covered a king or queen on their first ceremonial entry into a city, is mentioned for the first time (as far as I have been able to ascertain) in late medieval Castile in association with the fabled ceremonial entry of Alfonso XI (1312-1350) into Seville in 1327. Although the palio was most probably used in earlier ceremonial entries and other festive religious and political events, Alfonso XI's entry is paradigmatic in many respects. First and foremost, it marked the beginnings of a tradition that flowered into its most significant symbolic aspects throughout the early modern period. One should also note in passing that Alfonso XI's entry under a palio into Seville roughly coincided chronologically with the first sanctioning of the cult of the Corpus

Christi throughout western Christendom. The perambulation of the consecrated Host through the streets and squares of the medieval city also called for a palio to protect and enhance⁸. The connection made in royal entries and Corpus Christi's processions between the king's body and that of Christ was just too obvious to be missed by those attending either of these two festive events. One echoed the other not just in their similar routes through the city, as king and Host perambulated through urban space, but also in their separation of the world of the here and now from king and Host by the sacred canopy that turned both into veritable Arks of Covenant.

4. Sword and palio in royal and princely entries and triumphs into Seville, 1327-1570.

Below, through a series of vignettes, I would like to show how these two specific material objects, sword and palio, were deployed as symbols for political ritual purposes in one specific city, Seville. A warning however is in order. Although these two symbols were invoked for a variety of reasons –to enhance royal power and to establish links with historical events and a tradition of royal military success—we may not assume that, because they were used to buttress royal authority and scripted to fulfill that end, the result was always to the liking of the king or that rituals and symbols always worked. As I have argued elsewhere, royal entries were, at times, failed performances, serving as sites for contesting and challenging royal power as much as sites for the construction of that power. Functionalist explanations will not do. But the continuity of the use of these two symbols –there were many others as well– in the transition from late medieval to modernity also tells us a great deal about the long historical memory of the Castilian/Spanish monarchy and their use of symbols in civic rituals. What then is the evidence for this argument?

⁸ On the Corpus Christi see Miri RUBIN, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1991. And my forthcoming book, *A King's Travels*, ch. 8.

5. *From Alfonso XI to Philip II*

In 1327, Alfonso XI, after fairly successful campaigns to restore royal authority, came to Seville, one of the most important cities in Castile and the unofficial capital of all of Western Andalusia⁹. Alfonso XI's chronicle dedicates a very short chapter (less than a page) to the king's entry into the city, but the chronicler's description is novel in its detail and unparalleled by any of the chronicles covering the reigns of Alfonso XI's father, grandfather, and great grandfather. The chronicler writes that the coming of the king was ardently wished for by many, and that his royal visit or formal entry into the city pleased many since he was well beloved by both *ricos hombres* (the magnates) and the commons or community (*comunidades*). We must be wary of the chronicler's partisan description for, as we know, Alfonso XI's forceful policies were based, in part, on limiting the power of the high nobility. We are also explicitly told that the general pattern of the king's entry into Seville did not differ much from how other Castilian kings had entered other towns in the realm for the first time. (*Et como quier que lo ficieren en algunas villas del regno.*) Seville, the chronicle added, "being one of the noblest cities in the world, having always [among its inhabitants] men of great nobility, and suffering greatly during the king's minority," organized an entry worthy of its citizens' love for the king, knowing that they were now safe from anarchy after a long period of troubles¹⁰.

⁹ There are no full biographies or studies of Alfonso XI as to the writing of this book. It is one of the most important gaps on the history of late medieval Castile. A short summary and account of his reign and reforms can be found in Teofilo F. RUIZ, *Spain's Centuries of Crisis: 1300-1474*, pp. 57-63. The chronicle's description of the events that preceded his visit to Seville come from *Crónica de Alfonso XI*, in *Crónicas de los reyes de Castilla* (hereafter *Crónicas de los reyes de Castilla*), I, Madrid, Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, vol. 66. 1953, pp. 198-204.

¹⁰ *Crónica de Alfonso XI*, p. 204. On Seville in this period see the excellent book by Antonio COLLANTES DE TERÁN, *Sevilla en la baja edad media*, Sevilla, Excelentísimo Ayuntamiento de Sevilla, 1977.

The king was thus received into the city with much happiness and many dances. The city commissioned many sculptures of beasts that were done so well that "they seemed to be alive". Alfonso XI was escorted in his entry into the city by many knights who, with lance and shield, came out of the city "*bohordando*", (engaging in equestrian demonstration), not unlike as was done by the non-noble knights of the Real Hermandad in 1338 Burgos, or the knights of the fraternity of our Lady of Gamonal in the sixteenth century¹¹. Other nobles and members of the urban elite played martial games, riding a "*la gineta*," that is in the Moorish style, and already foreshadowing the *juego de cañas* (game of canes) so popular in the early modern period. On the river Guadalquivir, as would be the case in Philip II's entrance into Seville in 1570 (see below), a mock battle of barges provided entertainment to the king and crowds alike. All these events played out while accompanied to the loud and festive music of trumpets, drums, and other instruments¹².

Before the king entered the gates of the city, "the best men, knights, and citizens", jumped off their mounts and brought the king into the city under a rich gold cloth canopy (a *palio*), held up high by poles carried by Seville's leading nobles. The city streets, as were the walls of the houses along his ceremonial route from the main gate to the cathedral, were covered with gold and silver cloth, and, as the chronicler adds, almost as an afterthought, he was also received into the city by a mounted Moorish guard. In Alfonso XI's triumphal entry into Seville in 1327, we find almost all of the main elements of Spain's future royal entries. In later entries, such as those of the late fifteenth century, the number of festivals, tournaments and the like grew into lavish and fantastic displays. The number and rank of those receiving the king or prince outside the city, as well as the ensuing procession that accompanied him into the urban precinct, became in

¹¹ On these two confraternities in Burgos see my forthcoming book, *A King's Travels*, ch. 2 and 6, and my article, "The Transformation of the Castilian Municipalities: The Case of Burgos, 1248-1350", *Past & Present*, 77, 1977, pp. 3-33.

¹² *Crónica de Alfonso XI*, p. 204.

time highly hierarchical and closely regulated. No more of those tumultuous gathering of nobles and nobility in no discerning order would be found in later medieval entries. The artifacts, machines, and representations also grew to bizarre proportions, but royal entries, as political rituals, remained familiar in their basic structures. Someone in Seville in 1327 would have been struck by the invention and artifice of Henry IV's entry into Jaén almost one hundred and forty years later¹³, but he or she would have recognized it for what it was: a formal royal visit to one of the king's cities, he or she may have also recognized or been keenly aware of the principle of reciprocity inherent in the royal visit, as well as the negotiations and preparation –seldom described by medieval chroniclers– that preceded it.

Alfonso XI's fabled entry into Seville in 1327 has a special place in the long history of Iberian ritual royal entries because of one special detail. The young king entered the city under a cloth of gold, a *palio* in Spanish, a canopy or baldachin. We shall hear about the palio in greater detail later and about its symbolic importance and political meaning. Philip II, in his unfortunate sojourn through his eastern realms, was denied such an entry into Valencia –that is, under a canopy, marching into the city in an almost sacral procession– because he had already been given one before¹⁴. As a prince, however, he entered Girona –which, according to Calvete de Estrella, was the first peninsular city that Philip entered with “pomp, *aparato real* (royal ceremonies)”, and artillery discharges– under “a rich palio,” which was held

¹³ See *Hechos del condestable Don Miguel Lucas de Iranzo: Crónica del siglo XV*, Juan DE MATA CARRIAZO, ed., Madrid, Espasa-Calpe, 1940, pp. 189-96. See also Teofilo F. RUIZ, “Elite and Popular Culture in Late Fifteenth-Century Castilian Festivals. The Case of Jaén,” in Barbara A. HANA-WALT and Kathryn L. REYERSON, eds., *City and Spectacle in Medieval Europe*, Minnesota, University of Minnesota Press, 1994, pp. 296-318.

¹⁴ Henry (Henrique) COCK, *Relación del viaje hecho por Felipe II en 1585, á Zaragoza, Barcelona y Valencia*, Alfredo MOREL-FATIO and Antonio RODRÍGUEZ VILLA (eds.), Madrid, Aribau and Co., 1876, pp. 306-09. Hereafter COCK, *Relación del viaje* (1585).

high over the prince by Girona's officials¹⁵. For now, Alfonso XI's entry into Seville serves only as a prologue to a more focused discussion of royal entries, princely visits, and military triumphs in general and the role and meaning (in terms of politics and culture) of sword and baldachin from the perspective of those gazing on these celebrations from below.

6. Royal entries and princely visits in Spain and elsewhere

The royal entry has long held an important place in the historical imagination. Laden with political and cultural symbolisms, evoking Jesus' entry into Jerusalem, re-enacting Roman imperial triumphal entries, the medieval and Renaissance royal and princely entries with their distinct ephemeral arches (mostly in the early modern period), tableaux-vivants, carefully orchestrated processions, jousts, dances, and other ludic performances, remained fantastic and powerful spectacles. It bound king and people, king and city, while, at the same time, serving as a site for contestation, negotiations, and conflicting agendas. Royal entries remained from their early origins onwards complex multivocal performances. They were, first and foremost, ritualized performances of power, but the articulation of that power did not always flow in only one specific direction. Royal and princely entries, triumphs, and similar performances worked because, as noted earlier, their reassuring familiarity to those for whom the performance was intended. The reiteration of certain motifs, the expectation of that heady bricolage of courtly, religious, classical (mythological), and magical strains, the appealing aspect of flashy and colorful dress, fireworks, and unheard of artifacts enchanted viewers while forcefully reminding them of the separation between social groups and the nature of royal power. There is no need here to review extensively this material. But it is important to highlight that civic authorities, religious communities, even, as was the case in Spain, religious minorities were assigned a place in the processions, or in the schedule of festivities

¹⁵ Juan Cristobal CALVETE DE ESTRELLA, *El felicísimo viaje del muy alto y muy poderoso príncipe don Felipe*, 2 vols., Madrid, Sociedad de Bibliófilos Españoles, 1930, I, p. 9.

that accompanied the entry. All engaged in symbolic conversations not just with the ruler but with each other. Far more important, civic displays also aimed at the crowds who either, because they were attracted by the spectacle and by the usual distributions of food, drink, and other largesse associated with an entry or because they were compelled to attend –as was the case sometimes in Spain’s Corpus Christi processions– provided the popular context for celebrations¹⁶.

Alfonso XI’s iconic entry into Seville was not the first in Iberian history, though the reference to the canopy and the increasing details of the chronicle’s description are quite new. In Ramón Muntaner’s *Crónica*, which concludes precisely around 1327, there are descriptions of royal visits which give one the sense of an already esta-

¹⁶ For a discussion of festivals and the entry as a way of binding city and countryside see my already mentioned “Elite and Popular Culture in Late Fifteenth-Century Castilian Festivals: The Case of Jaén”, and below. Also Bernard GUENÉE and Françoise LEHOUX, *Les entrées royales françaises de 1328 à 1515*, Paris, CNRS, 1968, p. 47. The account of the entry or “noble feste” is far shorter than the account of Alfonso XI’s entry, a mere 5 lines in one source and 2 in another. See Lawrence M. BRYANT, “L’entrée royale à Paris au Moyen Age”, *Annales E.S.C.*, 3, 1986, pp. 513-44. This article was reproduced with small changes as “The Medieval Entry Ceremony in Paris”, in Janos M. BAK, ed., *Coronations: Medieval and Early Modern Monarchic Ritual*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1990, pp. 88-118. See also BRYANT’s *The King and the City in the Parisian Royal Entry Ceremony*, Geneva, Droz, 1986. In a more recent piece, “Configurations of the Community in Late Medieval Spectacles. Paris and London during the Dual Monarchy,” in *City and Spectacle in Medieval Europe*, pp. 3-33, Bryant provides a most thorough and useful review of the historiography and theoretical underpinnings for the study of spectacles in late medieval Europe. From the work of Huizinga to Lévi-Strauss, Kantorowicz, Geertz, Foucault, Miri Rubin, Foucault and others, he reviews the manner in which spectacles, above all the entry, have been represented in western culture. See pages 3-12 and his rich and full notes of references to these scholars and topics on pages 25-33. The first use of the word bricolage for defining cultural processes is in Claude LÉVI STRAUSS, *The Savage Mind* (or in French *Pensée sauvage*), Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1966 and further elaborated by Derrida in many of his works.

blished pattern for these affairs. In particular, Muntaner's descriptions of James I's visits to the main cities of his realms after the conquest of Valencia, and the reception of Alfonso X of Castile in the latter city and afterwards in Tarragona and Barcelona included all the elements of a princely entry. The feasts in honor of the visiting Castilian king lasted for days (at least 15 days in Valencia). The spectacles mounted in honor of the visiting royalty ranged from the inevitable jousts, parades, dances to carnivalesque games (a battle of oranges), and the like. All these activities became part and parcel of subsequent royal entries in the peninsula. Similarly, Peter III's entry into Palermo included aspects of the entry –the reception outside the city, the formal procession, the bonfires and lights– that one will find in the later Middle Ages and early modern period. Finally, the crowning of Alfonso IV, king of Aragon, a description of which serves as the concluding chapter in Muntaner's *Crònica*, involved a ritual visit to all the capitals of his diverse realms¹⁷. But there was not yet any baldachin or sword mentioned in these entries.

As we have seen, the chronicle of Alfonso XI, while describing the royal entry into Seville in 1327, placed it in the context of other such entries that had taken place in the past. It was, in the chronicler's language, a tradition (*Et como quier que lo ficieren en algunas villas del regno*). Previous chronicles noted royal visits and entries but, except for cursory accounts of feasts and like, there were no extensive descriptions, no mention of a formal reception outside the village, or of a palio. There is a short description of the feasts given in honor of a French princess, coming into the kingdom to marry the heir to the throne, Ferdinand de la Cerda, in 1268. There is another short notice of Alfonso XI's later entry into Seville which elicited no comments. Most of the chroniclers' energies were reserved for descriptions of

¹⁷ Ramón MUNTANER, *Crònica*, ed. Vincent Josep ESCARTI, 2 vols., Valencia, Institució Alfons el Magnànim, 1999, I: pp. 51-60; 73-7; 136-40; vol. II: pp. 612-31.

royal's deaths and burials and the heirs' subsequent ascent to the throne¹⁸.

7. Royal and Triumphal Entries into Seville

I have also outlined some of the salient aspects of Alfonso XI's ceremonial entry into Seville in 1327, above all, the king's entering the city underneath a gold cloth or palio. Why would Alfonso XI, newly arrived to the responsibilities of power and his rule still assailed by the high Castilian nobility and princes of the blood, choose Seville for such a spectacle and for the assertion of his regal power? Seville, the informal capital of western Andalusia, held a unique place in the political symbology of the late Middle Ages and, as shall be seen below, kings repeatedly appealed to the glorious deeds of the Reconquest in general and to those of Seville's conqueror, Ferdinand III (1230-52), in particular.

After a long and costly siege the Muslim rulers of Seville surrendered to the Christian armies in the late Fall of 1248¹⁹. Ferdinand

¹⁸ *Crónica de Alfonso X*, pp. 13, 81; *Crónica de Sancho IV*, pp. 69, 89-90; *Crónica de Fernando IV*, pp. 93, 169; *Crónica de Alfonso XI*, pp. 173, 192, 210. For Castile one of the earliest attempts to see late medieval entries as part of a well-established tradition can be found in Rosana de Andrés Díaz's short article on royal entries in Castile as described in the chronicles. Rosana DE ANDRÉS DÍAZ, "Las 'entradas reales' castellanas en los siglos XIV y XV, según las crónicas de la época," in *En la España medieval. IV. Estudios dedicados al profesor D. Angel Ferrari Núñez*, vol. I, Madrid, Editorial de la Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 1984, pp. 47-62. See also José Manuel NIETO SORIA, *Ceremonias de la realeza: propaganda y legitimación en la Castilla Trastámara*, Madrid, Nerea, 1993. Not unlike Sir Roy Strong, his descriptions of these events is taken from strict royalist perspectives, with emphasis on later royal ceremonies and on their ideological and political meanings, but not on their social and cultural valance. Finally, one should note the formidable book by Francesc MASSIP BONET, *La monarquía en escena*, Madrid, Dirección General de Promoción Cultural, 2003. It is a most important contribution, but selective in its approach and also quite committed to the royal nature of these ceremonies.

III, canonized in 1671 after numerous efforts by the Spanish kings and Seville's leading citizens to obtain his inscription into the lists of saints, occupied a central place in the history of the Castilian monarchy. As a model of the warrior saint, even before his final canonization and paralleling his maternal cousin, Louis IX of France (St. Louis), Ferdinand III's great military deeds, most notably among them the conquest of Córdoba in 1236 and that of Seville itself in 1248, set a standard for later Castilian and Spanish rulers that was not equal or surpassed until Ferdinand and Isabella's final conquest of Granada on 1-2 January 1492. Ferdinand's burial place in the Cathedral of Seville—a temple erected on the site of a former mosque and a beautiful Moorish tower, La Giralda—saw the building of successive and increasingly more lavish royal chapels to house the king's coffin, his sword (the magical sword that had liberated Seville from centuries of Muslim rule), and ever more impressive funeral sculptures.

For our purpose, we should not be surprised that Alfonso XI chose Seville for the staging of his elaborate royal entry. This is much more so since the *Primera crónica general*—which details the long and arduous siege of the city, its final surrender, and the slow exile of most of the Muslim population—also provides hints as to a solemn proto-royal entry. After the city had emptied out of its former Muslim inhabitants, a handful of ecclesiastics entered the city to consecrate the principle mosque and to place it under the advocacy of Our Lady. Only then, when a Christian sacred space had been created in the heart of the conquered city, did the Castilian king choose to enter Seville. On 22 December 1248, the feast of the translation of the relics of St. Isidore of Seville to León, according to the *Primera crónica general* (composed during the reign of Alfonso X, Ferdinand III's son), did the king enter the city accompanied of nobles, clerics, and other Chris-

¹⁹ Julio GONZÁLEZ, *Reinado y diplomas de Fernando III*, 3 vols., Córdoba, Publicaciones del Monte de Piedad y Caja de Ahorros de Córdoba, 1980, I: pp. 365-91.

tians to be received with "great happiness" and cries of praise. A solemn mass of thanks followed²⁰.

The day chosen by Ferdinand III to enter the empty city, that of the translation of the St. Isidore of Seville's relics to the northern city of León (the ancient capital of the ancient Leonese kingdom), was invested with sacral and historical meaning. St. Isidore, the great Visigothic Christian polymath, saint, and scholar, connected the Visigothic past and claims of hegemony in the peninsula with a powerful religious tradition. If St. Isidore's bones had left for the Christian north because of the Muslim occupation of al-Andalus and of Seville, the Saint's chosen city, hundred of years later a saintly (or later to become saintly) warrior king triumphantly entered an empty city. Surrounded by the great men of the realm, traversing streets in which stood the empty houses vacated only a few days before by the Muslim population, Ferdinand III came to the newly consecrated Cathedral, a site in which the symbols and architecture of Andalusian Islam were still vividly present, to be blessed and received in acclamation by the clergy. But no mention yet of the fabled sword or the palio.

The chronicler writing the story of Alfonso XI and his royal entry into Seville obviously knew the *Primera crónica general* that, together with the histories written by Ximénez de Rada and Lucas de Tuy in the first half of the thirteenth century, constituted the accumu-

²⁰ *Primera crónica general de España*, ed. Ramón MENÉNDEZ PIDAL. Intro. and revisions by Diego CATALÁN, 3rd ed., Madrid, Editorial Gredos, 1977, II: p. 767: "Día era de la tralaçon de sant Esidro de Leon, arçobispo que fue de Seuilla —en la era de mill et dozientos ét ochenta et seys, quando andaua el anno de la Encarnaçon de Nuestro Sennor Jeshu Cristo en mill et dozientos et quarenta et ocho— quando ese noble et bienauenturado rey don Fernando, de que la estoria tantos bienes a contado, entro en esa dicha noble çipdat de Seuilla, capital de todo ese sennorio del Andalozia, o fue reçebido con muy grant proçesion de obispos et de toda la clerezi et de todas las otras gentes, con muy grandes alegrías et con muy grandes bozes, loando et bendiziendo et dando graçias a Dios...". Summary in GONZÁLEZ, *Reinado y diploma*, p. 390, citing a different edition of the *Primera crónica general*.

lated historical memory of the Castilian realm²¹. The intertextuality and historical links of all these narratives is impressive indeed. It serves as a constant reminder of the enduring connection which existed between the thirteenth century Castilian ruling house, the later Trastámara kings (after 1412 also the ruling house of the Crown of Aragon), Spain early modern rulers, and Seville, the proud city on the banks of the Guadalquivir River. It may also be worth pointing out that the fictitious battle of barges or boats that provided entertainment for Alfonso XI's solemn entry in 1327 also re-enacted Ferdinand III's naval assault on the city during the long siege of Seville in 1247-48, and the final capture of the fabled Torre de Oro (the Golden Tower) that kept watch over the city on its river bank.

8. *Ferdinand of Antequera's triumph*

As Seville grew in power in the late fourteenth, overtaking Barcelona and Valencia as the largest city in the peninsula, its role as the headquarters for the Christian armies on Granada's western frontier, its sprawling hinterland, and its links to the Atlantic even before 1492 (to the Canary Islands) propelled it to a central position in the affairs of the realm. Ferdinand III and Alfonso XI's entries are only two early examples of Seville's unique place in the political imaginary of the age. The Infante Ferdinand's triumphal entry into the city in 1410, after an almost two year of successful campaigning on the western Granada front and highlighted by his decisive victory over Muslim armies at Antequera harkened back to ritual and historical precedents, while pointing to new and far more complex celebratory patterns in the fifteenth century.

²¹ See Rodrigo XIMÉNEZ DE RADA, *Opera*, Valencia, Anubar, 1968; Lucas DE TUY, *Crónica de España*, ed. Julio PUYOL, Madrid, Tipografía de la Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos, 1926. For a description of these sources and their place in medieval Castilian historiography see Peter LINEHAN's magisterial work, *History and the Historians of Medieval Spain*, Oxford, The Clarendon Press, 1993, pp. 313-412.

The second son of John I of Castile and Leonora of Aragon and the brother of Henry III, king of Castile (1390-1406), Ferdinand became co-regent for his nephew, the two year old John II (1406-1454) after Henry's death. As was the case with others in his period, Ferdinand joined his chivalrous and pious inclinations with a full commitment to the struggle against Islam. It was a well-established dictum of Castilian political culture that calling for war against Granada or Islamic foes and leading a host to the frontier with Granada was the surest way to rally aristocratic and urban support and to quell unrest. This policy Ferdinand followed from 1407 onwards. Hearing news of the Granadian armies' siege of Prego, the Infante Ferdinand departed for Andalusia in April 1407. The chronicle of John II, written by Fernán Pérez de Guzmán the author of the rightly famous *Generaciones y semblanzas*, provides rich details as to the continuous skirmishes between Muslim and Christian knights. Befitting the chivalrous tenor of the age –Ferdinand had founded the chivalrous order of the Jar and the Griffin in honor of the Virgin Mary on 15 August 1403– Pérez de Guzmán's narrative juxtaposes great deeds of valor with pious appeals to the Virgin and to the apostle St. James (Santiago)²².

For our purpose, Ferdinand's military activities serve as prelude and context for his triumphal entry into Seville late in 1410. His actions were redolent with symbolic gestures that linked the Infante to a

²² There are no studies per se of Ferdinand of Antequera before his election to the Crown of Aragon except for Inez Isabel MACDONALD, *Don Fernando de Antequera*, Oxford, Dolphin Book Co., 1948. See also RUIZ, *Spain's Centuries of Crisis: 1300-1474*, 77, pp. 101-02. Fernán PÉREZ DE GUZMÁN, *Generaciones, semblanzas é obras de los excelentes reyes de España Don Enrique Tercero é Don Juan Segundo...* in *Crónicas de los reyes de Castilla*, II includes a chapter on Ferdinand of Antequera, pp. 700-02 and other fifteenth century worthies. *Crónica de Don Juan II*, in *Crónicas de los reyes de Castilla*, II, pp. 286-90. On the Order of the Jar and the Griffin see Angus MACKAY's pioneer articles, "Ferdinand of Antequera and the Virgin Mary", and "Frontier Religion and Culture. Religion, Culture, and Ideology on the Late Medieval Castilian Granadian Frontier", chapters 8 & 10 in Jacob TORFING, ed., *Politics, Regulation, and the Modern Welfare State*, New York, St. Martin's Press, 1998.

rich historical tradition and most of all to the iconic Castilian king, his namesake Ferdinand III. Gathering his forces in Seville, the Infante came to the city in late June, remaining there for a few weeks until he left the city to besiege the Muslim stronghold of Zahara. The chronicle offers some very important details. Whenever camp was struck, the banners of the military Order of Santiago and that of the city of Seville were at the vanguard. And before the Infante left the city on the eve of the Virgin's feast in September, the twenty-four, Seville's ruling municipal body, gave Ferdinand III's sword to the Infante. Lying on the funeral monument of the later king, the sword that conquered Seville in 1248 was imbued with all the romance and magic of frontier battles and, by then, well developed and well-exploited crusading ideology. I doubt very much that the idea of placing this martial relic in the hands of the Infante and regent Ferdinand came for Seville's ruling magistrates. Most likely, the Infante had requested the sword as a way of not only further legitimizing the enterprise, but also connecting him across time with the conqueror of Córdoba and Seville, who was probably the most venerated king in Castilian history until that time. The symbolic importance of the Infante Ferdinand's actions must have been obvious to all and served as a rallying focus for Christian forces²³. The long campaign that culminated with the signal victory at Antequera was a hard and trying one. It took most of 1408 and a good part of 1409 before a denouement. The chronicler inserts one more reference, binding the Infante to former kings and to the mythical link with a Visigothic past and the ideology of the Reconquest. As an aside on the tedious details about battles and political maneuvering, Fernán Pérez de Guzmán provides a short miracle narrative that speaks to the role of symbols in the political discourse of the period. The Virgin appeared to two young boys, ten and twelve years old respectively, and led them to freedom out of their captivity in Antequera, the Muslim stronghold²⁴. Although a seemingly minor point within the chronicle's narrative structure, the mention asserts a Marian intervention in Antequera on the eve of Fernando's protracted siege of the city, linking the Infante's campaign with divine intercession.

²³ *Crónica de Don Juan II*, pp. 290-91.

²⁴ *Crónica de Don Juan II*, p. 314.

In 1410, the Infante returned to the south, and, once again, Ferdinand III's sword left its funeral monument to serve as an inspiring instrument in Ferdinand's campaign. Per Afán de Ribera, the *adelantado de la frontera* (the military commander on the frontier with Granada) carried the sword from Seville to the Infante's encampment. Ferdinand received the sword with great honor, dismounting from his horse and "kissing it (the sword) with great reverence"²⁵. As the battles around Antequera intensified and the siege reached a critical point, the Infante Ferdinand called for yet another sacred symbol. The chronicler again invokes tradition as the explanation for the Infante's action. Stating that "the kings of Castile had as a custom in the past to bring with them [into battle] the banner of St. Isidore of León (Seville) when they campaigned in Muslim lands [and] because the Infante was very devout, he sent with great alacrity to León for the banner", which arrived promptly on 10 September 1410²⁶.

If I have spent so much time in setting up the context of this princely entry is because in 1410 Ferdinand was not yet a king. He would become king of the Crown of Aragon in 1412, and his victory at Antequera played an important role in his election. However what is significant here is the flow, one may wish to say, circularity of sacred objects. Ferdinand III's sword leaves Seville and eventually returns, playing a significant role in the triumphal entry. The banner of St. Isidore, the Visigothic sage, citizen of Seville, and embodiment of the early Leonese realm hegemonic aspirations in the peninsula, comes from León to provide its charismatic protection on the Infante and his armies and then returns to Seville in glory.

As a prelude to his return to Seville, the Infante enacted a triumphal entry into Antequera which paralleled Ferdinand III's entry into Seville. On 1 October 1410, after Antequera's main mosque had been consecrated as a church, the Infante came in a procession into the city. Leading the procession were the banners of the Crusade, of St. James, and of St. Isidore of León, followed by the Infante's banner and his

²⁵ Crónica de Don Juan II, p. 317.

²⁶ Crónica de Don Juan II, pp. 328-29.

shield. Members of the high nobility accompanied the Infante Ferdinand into the city, as they marched through the streets of vanquished Antequera to a high mass in the newly founded church of the Savior²⁷. Fourteen days later, under a heavy rain, the Infante returned to Seville. A large number of high nobles and royal officials are mentioned as having been part of the Infante's entourage. He and his cortege were met outside the city walls –as it was proper in royal and princely entries– by the archbishop of Seville, the municipal council, the city's nobles, tradesman with ("*juegos*", games but meaning displays and tableaux), dances, and great happiness "in the manner that is usual to receive kings." Leading the procession were the Infante's armies, followed on foot by seventeen Muslims taken in battle. On their shoulders they carried banners captured by the Christians in the taking of Antequera. The banners trailed on the mud (*suelo* or ground). In the next rank of the procession came a large crucifix and behind it two banners of the Crusade, one red, the other white. Per Afán de Ribera followed with Ferdinand III's naked sword held high. Behind him rode the Infante with the banners of St. James, St. Isidore, and Seville, followed by the rich men (the magnates), and other nobles all with their banners and retinues. The Infante entered the city, rode to the cathedral, outside of which he was greeted by the clergy singing a *Te Deum Laudamus*. Led into the cathedral by the ecclesiastical parade, he walked to the altar and to the tomb of Ferdinand III (facing the main altar), placing the sword in the hand of the king's effigy²⁸.

A "thick reading" of this particular entry would yield many different level of analysis. First and foremost, the Infante's entry followed a great military victory and linked him with his namesake's, Ferdinand III, almost eerie entry into Seville. The ritual humiliation of conquered Muslims also resonates with the role that religious minorities came to play, whether in jocular and festive fashion or in violent rituals, in the Iberian peninsula after the great Christian conquest of

²⁷ Crónica de Don Juan II, p. 332.

²⁸ Crónica de Don Juan II, pp. 332-3.

the south in the 1230s and 1240s²⁹. One can easily visualize those seventeen captives, walking in the pouring rain, treading through the muddy road, and surrounded by throngs of Christian warriors and dignitaries on horseback. Clearly, these captives had acquiesced in the performative elements of the entry. Whether willingly or coerced, they were an integral part of the dramatic representation of Christian victory and Muslim defeat. Their banners, smeared in the bitter stain of defeat, also played a role in the elaborate entry. There was, of course, nothing spontaneous in these arrangements. They followed a well-rehearsed script clearly reinforced by the strict hierarchical order of the procession into the city and the reception of the Infante by waiting ecclesiastical dignitaries, singing sacred chants in honor of the victor of Antequera.

Clearly the description of Ferdinand of Antequera's entry into Seville in 1410 raised the discourse level and provided information missing from Ferdinand III's first entry into an emptied out Seville in 1248 or Alfonso XI's iconic reception in 1327. Yet, we can see a return to laconic descriptions in the narrative of the Catholic Monarchs' entry into Seville 1477. The two chroniclers, Hernando (or Fernando) del Pulgar and Andrés Bernáldez, were well known partisans of the Catholic Monarchs' reforming enterprise. The rest of their chronicles are filled with positive references to Ferdinand and Isabella and partial to their policies. So are the descriptions of the royal couple ceremonial entry into Seville, but the scarcity of details about this particular entry, especially when compared with Ferdinand of Antequera's entry, echo in their simplicity those of the mid-thirteenth century and the 1320s. Clearly, accounting for the political confrontations that occurred throughout the Castilian realm at that time and the harsh realities of Sevillian oligarchical struggles easily trumped the celebra-

²⁹ The most masterful analysis of the manner in which religious minorities became part of complex discourses and rituals of exclusion and inclusion can be found in David NIRENBERG's brilliant, *Communities of Violence. Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2nd printing with revisions, 1998, pp. 200-230.

tions that accompanied the royal entry. To those royal entries we turn now.

9. *The Catholic Monarchs in Seville*

The Catholic Monarchs' rule and their restoration of order in Castile represent a unique landmark in peninsular history. For Ferdinand and Isabella, Seville represented one of their thorniest political problems. The city was divided between two powerful aristocratic factions: those of Don Enrique de Guzmán, duke of Medina Sidonia and Don Rodrigo Ponce de León, marquis of Cádiz. Their enduring conflict drew in other social groups and turned Seville, as it did in other Andalusian cities, into a veritable battle field between noble factions to the detriment of royal authority and fisc³⁰. Seville was also, in spite of civil disturbances, the economic engine of the region and, potentially, an import income source for the Castilian monarchy. The city also served as headquarters and starting point for raids or military campaigns on Nasrid Granada's western frontiers. Without control of Seville, the Catholic Monarchs could not hope to mount any successful campaign against the last Muslim bastion in the peninsula. Fiscal, political, and military reasons attracted them to Seville.

The multiple entries of the Catholic Monarchs together, or of either Isabella and Ferdinand individually, into the city between 1477 and 1508 present opportunities to examine the subtle changes that these different visits called for. In 1477 the Queen came to the city. It was her first formal visit to the divided city, and one ought to expect a lavish description of the festivities. We get none from either chronicler. Entering the city on 29 July 1477, close to the feast day of St. James the apostle and paradigmatic representative of Reconquest ideology, the Queen was received, or so Hernando del Pulgar tells us, "with great solemnity and pleasure of the nobles, clergy, citizens, and generally all the people (the common) of the city." And for this reception, they made great "*juegos, é fiestas que duraron algunos días*"

³⁰ Crónica de Don Fernando y Doña Isabel, in *Crónicas de los reyes de Castilla*, III, pp. 323-24.

("plays and feasts that lasted a few days")³¹". Andrés Bernáldez's chronicle only offers a minimum additional detail. He dates the entry to 25 July, the feast day of St. James the Apostle, and mentions the giving of the keys of the city to the Queen. Isabella entered the city and that she was "highly received" by the Duke of Medina Sidonia who had control over Seville at that time, by other noblemen, the municipal body of Seville (the twenty four), royal officials, and the city's clergy. There is no mention of games, and other festivals, except the additional information that Ferdinand, Isabella's consort, entered the city around a month afterwards and received the same reception. There are equally no mention of sword and palio, though Isabella's ascent to the throne had called for a procession, preceded by a naked sword, through the streets of Segovia³².

In these two narratives there are none of the attention to garments, colors, deeds of bravery, and the like found in Muntaner's description of the coronation of Alfonso IV in 1327, in Alfonso XI's knighting, ceremonial unction, and coronation in 1332, or in the detailed accounts of the feasts of 1428 found in several of John II's chronicles. All of these aforementioned accounts predated, some by a century and a half, those of Hernando del Pulgar and Andrés Bernáldez's chronicles, so, once again, it is difficult to posit a rising and steady progression of levels of literary representation of festive events from the late Middle Ages into the modern period with the concomitant higher levels of symbolic representation. Here it suffices to reiterate that each event was *sui genesis* and so were the different chronicles that narrated these events. The context and the writer determined the nature and extent of the text. In the case of 1477, both chronicles chose to emphasize other aspects that, for them and for the Catholic Monarchs themselves, were far more significant. In the case of Hernando del Pulgar, the entry was secondary to Isabella's meting of justice to an unruly and divided Seville, and the literal and symbolic fashion in which she did so. On Fridays the Queen held public audien-

³¹ *Crónica de Don Fernando y Doña Isabel*, p. 323. See note below.

³² *Historia de los Reyes Católicos*, in *Crónicas de los reyes de Castilla*, III, p. 589.

ces while sitting on a chair covered with a gold cloth (a palio?) and placed on a high stage. There she heard the complaints and grievances of her people during the two months in which she handed harsh judgments on the guilty. "She came to be much loved by the good and feared by the evil", the chronicler tell us, until she relented and granted a general pardon to the population³³. For Bernáldez, the important moment was not the entry *per se* or the high ranks of the accompanying cortege, but when the duke of Medina Sidonia turned to the Queen and King the keys to the city (probably the keys to the Alcazar) or when the Marquis of Cádiz, banned from the city since 1471 because of his battles with the Duke of Medina Sidonia, came disguised into the city to kiss the Catholic Monarchs' hands in obeisance³⁴.

The deep involvement of the Catholic Monarchs with all of southern Spain in general and Seville in particular led to numerous triumphal royal entries into the newly conquered towns around Granada. In them, the Catholic Monarchs either symbolically claimed a reconquered city or re-enacted Fernando III's entry into Seville in 1248. None however presents as much difficulty in terms of reading it for its political and symbolic meaning as Ferdinand the Catholic entry into Seville in the company of his new wife on 28 October 1508. Ferdinand the Catholic, who had been unceremoniously pushed aside and had withdrawn to his own eastern realms, returned after Philip's death to play a role in the regency. It was a Castile without a king, but not without a ruler. Ferdinand's uncertain position in the affairs of Castile—complicated as it was by Castilian mistrust of Aragonese interference—his marriage shortly after Isabella's death, that in case of an heir

³³ *Crónica de Don Fernando y Doña Isabel*, pp. 323-25. Bernáldez describes in detail how evil doers fled to Portugal in panic at the frightful justice handed down by the Queen and her agents. *Historia de los Reyes Católicos*, p. 590.

³⁴ *Historia de los Reyes Católicos*, in *Crónicas de los reyes de Castilla*, III, p. 589.

would have effectively severed the union of the Crowns, made his sojourn into Andalusia an important political event³⁵.

His coming to Andalusia was preceded by a tour of Spanish allies and possessions in Italy. Embarking from Barcelona on 7 August 1506, he was received with great festivities in Genoa, where, as the chronicler tells us, "he received news of the death of Philip the Handsome." Rather than return to Spain, Ferdinand and his new Queen went forward to Naples where his entry even moved the usually laconic Bernáldez to greater lyrical descriptive efforts and to provide unusual details. Approaching Naples by sea, the royal cortege was welcomed by a large reception committee led by Gonzalo de Córdoba, the Great Captain and highest Spanish commander in Italy, and "all the great of the kingdom". Bernáldez lingers on the cost of the reception: an artificial bridge from the ships to the port built at a cost of four thousand ducats, a triumphal arch worth fifteen thousand ducats, and other such lavish displays and expenses. After swearing the "liberties of the kingdom" and hearing the *Te Deum Laudamus* sung by a large choir, the king, dressed in red, with a black hat adorned with a ruby and a large pearl (red, white and black), entered the city accompanied by the Queen and riding on a white horse under "a rich canopy" (palio) carried by the leading citizens of Naples³⁶. Musical performances, receptions by the nobility, more artificial triumphal arches marked the king's perambulation through the city. Evoking his uncle's, Alfonso V, entry into Naples after conquering the city, Ferdinand's solemn visit provides some very important clues. Although I have departed from the Sevillian context, it is important to note that Andrés Bernáldez shows none of the reticent present in his descriptions of the 1477 and 1490 entries and feasts. Here keen attention is paid to specific details of Ferdinand's entry, to the king's and queen's garments, to the cost of the artificial constructions and, most of all, to the palio or canopy that marked the uniqueness of the occasion. It is

³⁵ For the history of that turbulent period see John EDWARDS, *The Spain of the Catholic Monarchs, 1474-1520*, Oxford, Blackwell Publishers, 2000, pp. 282-90.

³⁶ *Historia de los Reyes Católicos*, p. 730.

important to digress into Ferdinand's travels and receptions in Italy and his Eastern kingdoms as a context for his visit to Seville in 1508. His claims to the regency were not clear cut; he faced stiff opposition from the Castilian nobility. A mini "Times of Trouble," not unlike that preceding the Catholic Monarchs restoration of order, was brewing. Ferdinand the Catholic cunningly deployed his immense symbolic capital –the account of his extravagant entry into Naples and elsewhere and the lavish reception he received from the French king– to buttress his political role in Castile and to re-insert himself into the affairs of the realm. Although I have argued earlier in this article that one must be wary of a strict functional interpretation of festivals, that does not mean at all that royal entries and other ludic displays did not, in fact, function as quite efficient political tools. Ferdinand's entry into Seville in 1508, as has been the case in Naples, was one of those occasions.

10. Ferdinand the Catholic Entry into Seville in 1508

After all, the king had been to Seville innumerable times. He had already been received with great festivities in 1477, a month of so after Isabella has been equally welcomed there. Coming to Seville after quelling disturbances in western Andalusia and in northern Castile at the Cortes of Burgos, the king of the Crown of Aragon, for so he was, his Queen, and the Infante, his grandson and heir (the future Charles V), entered Seville to a solemn reception by all civic authorities and clergy, including the Archbishop of the city. An elaborate procession led him into the city, passing underneath thirteen artificial wooden arches richly decorated with cloth and tapestries. The route led from the Gate of la Macarena on the river side looking towards Triana to the Cathedral. In each of the arches pictorial representations and written accounts celebrated Ferdinand's victories in the battlefield³⁷. That Ferdinand came into Andalusia with a large armed contingent probably reinforced to Seville's civic authorities the need to do something special for Castile's former and now newly received ruler. Ferdinand the Catholic's entry into Seville in the early sixteenth

³⁷ Historia de los Reyes Católicos, p. 735.

century belies the idea that formal royal entries marked only the first official reception of a king or queen into one of his or her cities. Bernáldez describes the arches as “something marvelous to see”, pointing to the real effort the city had put on the reception. His account of the entry –that of the regent of Castile for sure but an Aragonese king and queen as well– is followed by a thick narrative of political conflict, movement of royal troops, and the eventual taming of some high nobles bent on a return to the profitable anarchy of the period before Ferdinand and Isabella’s reforms. Solemn processions, elaborate receptions, triumphal arches inscribed with the king’s victories re-asserted at a symbolic level the king’s authority to both the leading men and all the inhabitants of the city. Ferdinand’s armies positioned in and around the city only strengthened the king’s hand. And the Sevillian entry, following as it did a series of elaborate celebrations, was part of a cycle that began by the king focusing his attention on his eastern realms and Mediterranean possessions, and in 1508, his re-insertion into Castilian politics.

11. Philip II’s Royal Entry into Seville in 1570

It is time to bring to a conclusion this long account of, and reflection on, Castilian royal entries into one specific city, Seville and of the symbolic role which sword and palio played in these political *mise-en scene*. Philip II’s elaborate entry into the city in 1570 prompted numerous accounts. The more extensive and elaborate of them came from the pen of Juan de Mal Lara, a Sevillian by birth, author of a series of little known essays, and books, and a fierce advocate of his native city. The title of his work, *Recibimiento que hizo la muy noble y muy leal ciudad de Sevilla a la CRM del Rey D. Philipe N.S.* is already indicative of the tenor of his account. Mal Lara’s language was usually respectful of the figure of the king. One could even say sycophantic –describing Philip II in almost religious terms. When, after a large and noise artillery salvo on the river bank preceding the actual royal caused great panic among the throngs gathered there, the smoke settled and the crowd gazed on the king “whose serenity confronted everyone”. Yet, there are occasions in which the tone could be almost seen as petulant. The king, Mal Lara tells us, was dressed in mourning clothes, robbing the entry of some of the glamour of royal magnificence. The princesses refuse to have their hands kissed in

obesance by Seville's municipal authorities as the king had done. Philip II also flees the Sevillian heat and dust by remaining under a canvas tent and cancelling an initial trip to Bellaflor because of the crowd of onlookers and the dust³⁸.

The reality of course is that Mal Lara's *Recibimiento* is as much, or far more, about Seville than it is about the king. One must draw a sharp distinction between accounts written by royal officials, members of the royal entourage –such as those of Calvete de Estrella or Henry Cock– and chroniclers or local erudites engaged in “official,” or “semi-officials” accounts and similar works sponsored by the city for its own political benefit. Although Juan de Mal Lara was inspired by the extensive and thorough accounts of the young Philip's voyages in 1548-50, written by Calvete de Estrella, it is evident that in the former's account the king, though still playing a central role, shared the stage with his host city and Seville's claims to a central place in the realm. In this respect, Mal Lara is not unlike López de Hoyos in Madrid, whose accounts of a queenly entry and funeral, was commissioned by Madrid's municipal authorities to provide testimony to the city's efforts on behalf of the Crown.

Mal Lara's *Recibimiento* is not what one may call an engaging piece of literature. It does not rise, in my own literally uninformed opinion, to the efforts of some of his contemporaries, as, for example, the already mentioned narratives of Calvete de Estrella or Henry Cock. Nonetheless, Mal Lara's narrative provides us with numerous clues as to the nature and organization of entries which are not always present in similar accounts.

Within the context of praising Seville and describing how much the city contributed to the royal fisc and to the general wealth of the realm, Mal Lara provides a close description of the city, its monu-

³⁸ Juan de MAL LARA, *Recibimiento que hizo la muy noble y muy leal ciudad de Sevilla a la C.R.M. del rey D. Philipe N.S.*, Sevilla, 1570, facsimile ed. with an introduction by Miguel BERNAL and Antonio M. BERNAL, Seville, Fundación El Monte, 1998, pp. 36r, 44v, 47r-v.

ments, and, above all, of the role of the river Guadalquivir in Seville's life and economy. The reader is offered numerous glimpses into the ships anchored on the river banks, of the building of a great royal galley for Don John of Austria, Philip's half brother. On the river bank, to be seen and admired by the entering king, was the *Victoria*, a ship that had just circumnavigated the globe³⁹.

Mal Lara makes a very great show of his knowledge of Roman and other classical themes. The king is acclaimed by the crowds in the same fashion that it had been done for triumphal Roman emperors. Seville's twenty-four (the ruling municipal body) dressed like Roman senators, or what Mal Lara thought Roman senators dressed like, in honor of their meeting the king for the first time outside the city. Their robes, reaching to their feet, were of purple velvet. The twenty four wore gold chains around their necks and white velvet shoes. These classical themes are reinforced by some of the arches erected for the royal entry which, as was the case with the first artificial arch the king met upon officially entering the city, was a veritable cornucopia of mythological and other classical motifs –from Hercules to the Hesperides– which resonated with Seville's mythical origins and which Mal Lara explicated in luxurious and tedious detail.

Classical motifs were more than balanced by references to Seville's medieval past and its signal role in the history of Reconquest Spain. In describing the Torre de Oro, the Golden Tower that the Sevilian Muslim rulers built to keep watch on the river. Mal Lara provides a historical aside, retelling partially the story of the taking of Seville and of Ramón Bonifaz's breaking of the chain laid across the river that prevented the besieging Christian navy from sailing freely in the Guadalquivir. And this took place "when the saintly king (Ferdinand III) had laid siege to Seville". Again according to Mal Lara's account, Philip II entered the city through the gate of Goles (renamed Royal Gate afterwards), the same gate through which Ferdinand III had first entered a deserted city in 1248. This particular gate displayed a sculp-

³⁹ MAL LARA, Recibimiento que hizo la muy noble y muy leal ciudad de Sevilla a la C.R.M. del rey D. Philipe N.S., pp. 8r-13v.

ture of the latter king on horseback and brandishing a naked sword with a Latin inscription.

Regia Fernandus persregit claustra Sevilla.
Fernandi e nomen splendet, ut astra Poli

That is, Ferdinand broke the locks (the gates of Seville), and the name of Ferdinand shines as the stars in the sky⁴⁰.

Here we see the obvious thread that links all royal entries into Seville, providing historical continuity to these events, and a rich patina of meaning. Again and again in our long journey through the accounts of royal and princely entries into the city on the banks of the Guadalquivir, the iconic taking of the city in 1248, Ferdinand III's role, his sword became tropes to be claimed by the most recent royal visitor, legitimizing his rule and providing it with historical significance. The valence of reconquest ideology –still a powerful motif even in the sixteenth century– connected past, present, and future.

Seville also provides us with the clearest example of how complicated organizing these affairs was after all. First, Mal Lara informs us that the coming of the king was announced throughout the city at the sound of drums and trumpets, as the city council sought to mobilize the population for what was Philip's first (and only visit) to Seville. References to Philip II's triumphal entries elsewhere injected a sense of competitiveness into the affair, as Seville, self-proclaimed first city in Spain, liked, according to Mal Lara, to outdo all those other locations. The king was preceded into the city by Don Diego de Espinosa, president of the Royal Council and royal general inquisitor. He set his household near the Alcazar, the soon-to-be Philip's residence for the less than two weeks he actually remained in the city. One must assume that Espinosa had been entrusted by Philip II to negotiate the terms of the entry and to pave the way for his coming. The king asked for barges to visit the country house of Bellaflor on the banks of the

⁴⁰ MAL LARA, Recibimiento que hizo la muy noble y muy leal ciudad de Sevilla a a la C.R.M. del rey D. Philipe N.S., pp. 50r-60v.

Guadalquivir outside the city. The city council obliged by providing a large barge (holding as many as 80 people) covered with "a palio", or so Mal Lara describes it, of red and yellow, the colors of Spain⁴¹.

But what about the actual entry? Mal Lara offers us a detailed vision of Philip II's perambulation around and outside the city walls and of the multiple receptions and spectacles offered by Seville and its inhabitant to the king before he actually entered the city. The account also describes in detail the order, number, rank, and garments of those coming out to meet the king. More than three thousand tradesmen from Seville were joined by eight hundred other tradesmen from Triana, Don Francisco Tello, a knight of St. James, led the parade with four pages and twelve gentlemen (*gentilhombres, nobles*), armed with golden pikes who served as his escort. This elaborate contingent trekked outwards from the city to meet the king outside of the country house of Bellaflor. The king, cardinals, princes and other important functionaries in the royal entourage rode on horseback. The contingents of the *Santa Hermandad* also joined the parade, dressed in green, carrying 160 green staffs and crossbows on their shoulders. Numerous servants and other attendants, all dressed in green, followed as well. Then came the university scholars dressed in their elaborate academic gowns and parading according to their scholarly rank⁴².

As the king passed the gate of Jerez, he was met by the officials of the Casa de Contratación (the office handling all the business and trade with the Indies), accompanied by more than 150 captains, ship masters, and pilots of the *carrera de Indias*. Other dignitaries, including Francisco Duarte, the organizer of the reception, came to the king to kiss his hand. On the river, ships sailed in careful formation, or raced each other displaying the royal colors. On reaching the Torre de

⁴¹ MAL LARA, *Recibimiento que hizo la muy noble y muy leal ciudad de Sevilla a a la C.R.M. del rey D. Philipe N.S.*, 7, pp. 11-12. See also pp. 9v-10r, 19r-22r, and 29 for further discussions on the municipal debate on how to receive the king and through which gate he was to enter.

⁴² MAL LARA, *Recibimiento que hizo la muy noble y muy leal ciudad de Sevilla a a la C.R.M. del rey D. Philipe N.S.*, pp. 38r-v.

Oro, a massive artillery and harquebuses discharge filled the air with noise and smoke. When the king finally reached the artificial arches built outside the Gate of Goles, another massive artillery (62 cannons) discharge shook the city and the multitude in attendance. And then Mal Lara abandons the king altogether and turns, page after page, to excruciating descriptions of the arches built by the municipal government in honor of the king and other games and artifices commemorating his entry. For the present it may be useful to examine however briefly the iconographical signs of this first ceremonial arch.

Although, Mal Lara plaintively complains that in Seville "There was a lack of those masters (craftsmen to build the arches) that could be found in great abundance in Italy and Flanders," he certainly relished the Baroque excesses of the arches and of the festivities that accompanied the king's entrance. Adorned with numerous engravings the first arch, built of wood, provides a heady mixture of mythological references –Hercules is depicted naked with the lion skin, the Hesperides, Betis (the classical name for Seville), the Parnassus– with a genealogy of the king. Besides the numerous classical representations, sculptures of Ferdinand the Catholic, the emperors Maximilian and Charles, and the king's grandfather, Philip the Handsome, stood on the arch. Emblems in Greek and Latin provided classical references which Mal Lara painstakingly explicates for us. The king entered through the center portion of the arch, his foot guard marched through the side gates, while Princes Rudolf, Ernest, and the Cardinal rode on both sides of the king. As they passed the arch, actors disguised as Apollo, muses, and nymphs met the royal cortege, throwing rose petals on the king's path, singing to the music of harps, *vihuelas* (a form of violin), and other instruments. Twenty-four young girls with butterfly wings showered the king with flowers and perfume. And then the king was confronted with sculptures representing different localities in the Sevillian hinterland: each of them with symbols representative of their agricultural production or special contributions to Seville's economy. Mal Lara dedicates 100 folios or 200 pages in the printed edition to the description of the first arch alone in an orgy of civic devotion. Meanwhile, the king, whose austere taste must have

been severely tested by these displays, had yet to pass through a second arch on his way into the city⁴³. Mal Lara's narrative thus focuses far more on these ephemeral arches than on the royal entry itself or even the king.

12. Conclusion

The second arch drew on religious and astrological symbolism so characteristic of the age. Philip who had dabbled in and had a long life interest on what may be described as the "mysteries of the Renaissance" (hermeticism, astrology, magic, and alchemy) may have therefore found this second gate to be a bit more interesting than the first one. But the second ephemeral arch, once again, also included on top of the edifice the iconic figure of Ferdinand III, sitting on a throne with his naked sword on his hand. The emblems on the arch directly linked Philip II to the saintly king (though he would not be canonized until the next century). The reiteration of these motifs, Ferdinand III and his naked sword, in the spectacle's architectural artifacts, in the emblems inscribed on the walls of the arches, and in Mal Lara's narrative projects a whole ideological program to be read by king and subjects. The arches are significant, especially the first arch in that, besides praising the king and overwhelming him with classical and genealogical references, it linked Seville to an ancient past since Hercules and Betis were the mythical founders of the city. The first arch also presented a powerful self-representation or self-fashioning of the city, of its wealth, and unique contributions to the Spanish monarchy.

Finally, the king entered the city. It would be useless to retell Mal Lara's narrative, and it may be prudent to highlight some of the salient aspects of this particular entry. First and foremost, and as has been already indicated, many of the emblems and Mal Lara's narrative itself linked Philip II to his saintly ancestor Ferdinand III and his sword, placing the king within a historical tradition that was peculiar to Seville. Ferdinand III's greatest victory, the one that consecrated

⁴³ MAL LARA, *Recibimiento que hizo la muy noble y muy leal ciudad de Sevilla a la C.R.M. del rey D. Philipe N.S.*, pp. 51v-152r.

him for generations to come, was his conquest of the city more than three hundred years earlier. The power of historical memory played a significant role in the ideological make up of the Spanish monarchy and in the not always easy relations between king and cities. After all, these memories were shared memories, as much belonging to Seville as they did to Philip. Seville's civic authorities, and Mal Lara as a spokesman for Sevillian interests, made sure to inscribe those shared memories in the ephemeral and non-ephemeral monuments and in the narrative of the event.

Second, the king entered the city, as Alfonso XI had done, under a gold cloth canopy (a palio) carried by Sevillian notables and high nobility. He was preceded in the solemn procession by "prior" Don Antonio, carrying on his shoulder a naked sword, as had been the case in Ferdinand of Antequera's triumphal entry into Seville in 1410. In a small test of wills, the municipal council had asked Philip II to allow the municipal mace bearers to carry the city's silver maces, inscribed with Seville's emblem and heraldic symbols, high up in the air as was the tradition. The mace bearers however marched in the parade with the maces resting in their arms at the king's command. The artillery discharge of sixty-two canons as the king stepped into the city was of course a necessary part of the ritual, marking a technological difference between medieval and early modern. Philip II and his cortege then followed a route that took him through Seville's most important thoroughfares. His route, through tapestry decorated streets, led him from the street of Armas to the Duque de Medina square onwards to the traditional Sevillian street of the Sierpe to the new prison. There female prisoners begged the king for mercy, and he graciously conferred them pardons for their crimes. The king continued to the plaza of St. Francisco, site of the municipal buildings and the monastery of St. Francis, onwards to the richly decorated street of Genova to the Cathedral and to a full reception by the clergy. There the king took an oath on the main altar "to keep the immunities and privileges of the Church". *Te deums*, music, fireworks, dances, the night lit by innumerable torches, and the usual mechanical dragon spewing fire and smoke from its nostrils and jaw guided the king, still under his golden ca-

nopy, to a very well earned rest to the Alcazar, the fabled Moorish fortress/palace which had been a Christian royal residence since 1248⁴⁴.

Celebrating, as this entry did, the triumph over rebellious *Moriscos* in the Alpujarras, Philip II's entry did many things. Because it marked the king's first and only visit to the most important city in the realm, the municipal authorities lost no opportunity, through their iconographic program, by their selection of the gate through which the king was to enter, and a myriad of other details to display the city's prominence within the realm, its exclusive role in the trade with the New World, its flashy new buildings. Mal Lara's narrative is far more, as noted earlier, about Seville than about the king. Yet, Philip II kept a tight leash on how he was to be received. He would not always have his way, certainly not in the Crown of Aragon in later years, but in Sevilla, at least, he was master. He could not alter the context in which he entered, and many of the classical, astrological, religions, and historical references would have been to his liking, but he steadfastly set the parameters of what municipal officials were to wear, how the maces were to be carried, and other such small gestures that reiterated his authority as king in Castile. In this particular entry, sword and palio played their unique symbolic and political role. The municipal authorities had also something to gain by these displays. Their reward was in the confirmation of the city's privileges and, of course and far more important, the legitimization of their rule. Their reward could also be found in how, by associating their oligarchical rule over Seville with the authority of a well respected and loved ruler, municipal officials projected their authority and power over the commons. In arguing earlier that festivals and royal power are not inexorably linked, I do not mean to imply, once again, that such connection did not

⁴⁴ MAL LARA, Recibimiento que hizo la muy noble y muy leal ciudad de Sevilla a C.R.M. del rey D. Philipe N.S., pp. 161v-171r.

exist. It did at times, and yet in other times, royal authority or the image of the king had to take a second place to other contesting powers. Yet, the symbolic role of the royal sword, often Ferdinand III's sword, and of the palio remained constant in the monarch's ideological and symbolic arsenal.

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